1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

urban growths of Hamrun and Sliema were centres of disease. The growth of urban and dockyard employment had not yet been accompanied by any striking educational improvements, and standards of personal hygiene barely tolerable in rural Malta became insupportable in the new towns. At the same time, the growing wealth and opportunities which made possible the new concentrations were not paralleled by similar rates of increase in Internal Revenue. The resulting shortage of capital available for public works delayed the construction of services until concern over conditions in the Garrison centres became acute. Between 1878 and 1886, a new system of drainage and flushing sewerage was constructed in Valletta, Floriana and the Three Cities, three-sevenths of the expenditure being provided by the military authorities. The 1897 sewerage extensions were similarly restricted to that area in which a financial vote could be subsidised by Imperial expenditure (Fig. 33). During this period also, the whole problem of water-supply first became acutely realised and under Chadwick (6) a water-use policy made an embryonic appearance. The 1909 proposals for island-wide sewerage were, significantly enough, for a sea-water flushing scheme, and in spite of depression-caused limitations public funds were made available for servicing the suburban areas of Hamrun and Birkirkara and the casal of Żejtun.

These and similar public works, limited in scale as they may now seem, were already having a controlling effect on epidemic disease by the end of World War I. In 1837 cholera killed 4,000 out of a population of c. 116,000; in 1917 fewer than a hundred people died out of a population which had doubled in size. Bubonic plague caused 4,600 deaths in 1813 but in 1917 only 3 mortalities followed a similar introduction of the disease. By the nature of her position and as a result of sea-borne contacts Malta has always been liable to the introduction of epidemic diseases. The nineteenth century intensification of urban and port activity which caused population concentration in a great conurbation, increased the external contact risk, made more acute the dangers of ignorance and low standards of hygiene but finally the associated expenditure of wealth derived from overseas, and improvements in domestic standards started a breakthrough into an epoch of adjusted and improved values placed on human life.

In the educational field, progress was necessarily slower in that while public health measures were essentially a matter of providing physical services which previously did not exist, formal education had to be accepted *ab novo* by the great unlettered mass of the population, and secular public instruction had to meet the suspicions of the educated few associated with the Church-dominated, Italian-influenced University and academies (7).

British rule was followed by Government controlled education. The first elementary school was opened in 1819 and in 20 years' time there were 11. In 1842 the elementary school system was removed from the authority of the University, as recommended by the Royal Commissioners in 1838 (8), and its effectiveness was considerably increased. Even so, illiteracy was still high at mid-century (9) and the labouring classes still relied for information and guidance on the traditional sources - the Church and to a less extent the gentry.

The 1836 Commissioners noted a situation which is still not completely rectified (10). They blamed the educated classes for lack of initiative in permitting the continuance of an educational system which was geared to the training of priests, lawyers, doctors and civil servants and which virtually ignored wider social and technical needs. This same complaint was reiterated by Keenan in 1880 (11) and by Casolani, Director of Emigration in the 1930's (Chapter VI A). Through inertia rather than by deliberate act, the old social cleavage between the 'Two Nations', was being maintained.

A prime difficulty was that of language. The Census compilers of 1881 commented thus on the root of the trouble (12): 'The Maltese ... form part of the European family, however they speak the dialect of a language belonging to an oriental people with whom they have no social tie nor connection... As the dialect is confined to the Islands of Malta consequently very few literary productions are published in the vernacular, a circumstance which evidently does not favour the diffusion of instruction among the lower classes of the people.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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'The language... is Oriental and the Education is given in English and in Italian.

'... the Boys and Girls attending the Elementary Schools belong generally to the poor Classes. Before these children can acquire a competent knowledge in any of the Languages taught to them, they are generally taken away by their parents in order to be apprenticed to some trade or employed in agricultural labour. Consequently the child... forgets the Italian and English, foreign to him, owing to want of time and practice in reading and writing, and to his being also obliged to constantly speak and hear nothing but Maltese, the native dialect of kith and kin... '.

Given this situation, a conflict was bound to rise between the claims of Italian and English, with, as we have seen, all that that implied in religious, constitutional and economic affairs. The measures advocated by Keenan and the policy of Savona, Director of Education at the crucial period, resulted in the consolidation of English as the language of instruction. Consequentially English, and more slowly Maltese, gained in importance as Italian declined. While Italian language and culture became the symbols of opposition to the Government, such opposition became less and less associated with general popular feeling. In 1842 less than 4,000 children attended all schools (13); by 1908 almost 18,000 attended the Government primary schools alone (14). In 1902 parents of school-children were asked which language they wished to have used for instruction; the results were striking (15):

Standards up to III - Questioned on basis of either Italian or English

	Malta	Gozo	Both
English	98.7%	87.5%	97.7%
Italian	1.3%	12.5%	2.3%

Standards V and VI - Questioned on basis of single or combined use of languages.

English only	71.2%
English and Italian	27.8%
Italian only	1.0%

By the end of the period under discussion, the policy of anglicisation was triumphant, misgivings regarding the position of the Church had been allayed, and the Maltese economy was firmly associated with the wealth and needs of the Garrison. The Constitutional impasse had no immediate relevance to the life of the people. That social life was still dichotomous, although on a less insular plane than it had previously been.

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2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement.

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to 17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance between town and country. The greater employment opportunities during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the

[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school.

159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
24 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
23 trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

159 Ġanri and farming Ġanri is a highly intelligent man in his
829 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
24 limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
[212] Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[191] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
[871] thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[929] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
[434] costs. Ġanri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[178] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[231] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
into an apparently more profitable line.

159 His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġanri him-
829 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
794 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
18 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
178 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
But even Ġanri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he be-
lieves that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
159 approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
829 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
24 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
178 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new machines in face of the present decline in the demand for contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-contractors like him going out of business in the near future.

CASE XII

This farmer (working 35 tmian, including seven irrigable) was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He [178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years. Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
407 contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
241 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
434 farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they themselves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
[178] for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by local vintners).

CASE XXI

159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
256 occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
241 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
407 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
472 contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
[477] the sole such operator in his village and business grew. However in the present decade competition from new tractor operators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
441 not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
472 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
407 His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but those were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was introduced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to
● [191] the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo, especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island some three or four are normally unused in the season. This agent sperks of an agreement among the tractor operators of Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957 plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce new implements. His father was the first to import motor pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultivator in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of harvesting machines, but the very limited success of the first ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for mechanization on this scale and that the harvestor leaves a lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be collected for animal fodder.

113 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in
195 Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the object of both propaganda and admiration.

191 As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the
197 greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confir-
177 med English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It
178 had been a language of government for more than a century but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under the Order and had maintained its position during British nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of
[204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for 1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920, p.333), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 - 1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English.....	1	1	2	2
Italian.....	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese.....	-	-	2	2

197 Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary
214 language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese
[212] themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly, or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this, it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant section of the population, generally the professional and business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistics

of Maltese, with its semitic sub-strata and immense Italian and other European accretions, have attracted much attention among students of comparative linguistics abroad.

The circulation of the Maltese daily "Il-Borqa" (B/55) reflects the position in the Islands, being limited to the working and rural classes. Many periodicals of a religious or occupational nature, or those produced by some towns and villages, now appear in Maltese; others are bi-lingual. But a knowledge of English is now so widespread among the younger generation that one would expect it to consolidate its growing importance as the language of government, education and culture, with the use of written Maltese declining relatively - though growing in absolute terms with the extension of literacy.

Maltese language fiction and poetry exists today along with a great deal of religious writing. The present bibliography makes no attempt to cover this field although several of the Maltese writers concerned do appear in the general list (Part 8), while the principal store-houses of Maltese literature, the Royal Malta Library (B/16) and the Royal University (B/17), and others, are mentioned in Part 1. Neither is any systematic coverage attempted of the wealth of material concerning the Knights Hospitallers and their sojourn in Malta though some of the principal sources are included in Parts 2 and 8.

Maps, plans and charts of the Islands are not included. Many of the collections listed in Part 1 contain such items (B/1, 5, 6, 16, etc.), the Naval and Military authorities in the Islands have made surveys, maps and charts as required, while many private individuals have added to the list. Reference to the official 2" to one mile map (Geographical Section, General Staff, No.3859, War Office, 3rd Edition - 1953) is recommended at all points in the present volume. Sheet 1 covers Gozo and Comino and Sheet 2 Malta. For Malta, more detailed coverage is provided by the 6" (G.S.G.S., No.3852) and the 25" to the mile (G.S.G.S., No.3752) maps. A valuable land-use survey in Malta (1955) and Gozo (1957) have provided the Islands' first detailed coverage of this nature (B/5, 336, 337). Also valuable is the indexed and comprehensive 'Malta Street Guide' (B/489).

The bibliography which follows attempts only a very basic classification into eight sections

Part 1... List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands (B/1 - 17),

Part 2... List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects (B/18 - 52),

Part 3... Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals (B/53 - 85),

Part 4... Some almanacs, directories and year books (B/86 - 98),